

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 08481 01 OF 02 311310Z
ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 8481

EXDIS

S/S FOR CARTER LIAISON

E.O. 7 11652: CBDS
TAGS: PFOR, SG, XF
SUBJECT: SENGHOR MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER ON MIDDLE
EAST

REF DAKAR 8480

1. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION FOLLOWS OF MESSAGE ON MIDDLE
EAST TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER FROM SENEGALES PRESIDENT
SENGHOR (REPORTED REFTEL).

BEING QUOTE. DAKAR, 30 DECEMBER 1976.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

PLEASE PERMIT ME TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION THE ISRAELI-
ARAB PROBLEMS, AND MORE PRECISELY, TO THE PALESTINIAN
QUESTION.

AS YOU KNOW, IN 1971 I TWICE LED TO JERUSALEM AND CAIRO
A DELEGATION OF FOUR AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE. IT WAS A
QUESTION OF OUR ASSISTING, IN THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF AFRICAN UNITY, THE EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS
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TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD RESULT, AFTER
THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION, IN A LASTING
PEACE BETWEEN THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, IF NOT
BETWEEN THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, IF NOT
BETWEEN THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND ALL THE ARAB COUNTRIES AS
A GROUP.

THE INTRANSIGENCE OF MRS. GOLDA MEIER CAUSED OUR MISSION TO FAIL. HOWEVER, SINCE THAT TIME, I HAVE REMAINED PERSONALLY IN INDIRECT CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THAT OF EGYPT AND MOST ARAB GOVERNMENTS, BUT ESPECIALLY WITH MR. YASSER ARAFAT, PRESIDENT OF THE PLO.

FROM THE CONVERSATIONS I HAVE HAD FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS, ON ONE HAND WITH THE ISRAELIS, INCLUDING MR. RABIN, AND ON THE OTHER HAND WITH MEMBERS OF THE PLO, I THINK THAT CONDITIONS ARE MET TO ARRIVE AT A LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE ISRAELI-ARAB PROBLEM IN GENERAL AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IN PARTICULAR.

AS FOR THE GIVEN ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM, THE THEORETICAL ASPECT MUST BE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE PRACTICAL ASPECT.

THEORETICALLY, THE TWO THESES-ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN-ARE IRRECONCILABLE. IN FACT, THE PALESTINIAN ARABS ACCEPT PUBLICLY, AS A GENERAL GOAL, THE BUILDING, ON ALL THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER BRITISH MANDATE, OF A UNITARY, NON-RELIGIOUS STATE, WHERE MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS, AND JEWS WOULD LIVE ON A FOOTING OF EQUALITY AND COOPERATION. ISRAEL REJECTS, ON THE CONTRARY, THAT UNITARY STATE, AND IF IT ACCEPTS THE IDEA OF UNIFICATION OF TRANSJORDAN AND GAZA, IT WOULD BE IN ORDER TO INTEGRATE THEM INTO THE STATE OF JORDAN.

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FACED WITH THESE TWO THESES, FROM THE OUTSET CONTRADICTORY, MY GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE PROPOSITION OF BUILDING A PALESTINIAN STATE, WITH AN ARAB MAJORITY, ON THE TERRITORY OF TRANSJORDAN AND GAZA, ADJACENT TO THE ISRAELI STATE WITH A JEWISH MAJORITY. THE TWO STATES WOULD HAVE, BETWEEN THEM, FIRST CONFEDERAL, THEN FEDERAL TIES.

I KNOW FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE THAT IN SPITE OF HIS INTRANSIGENT PUBLIC POSITION - "WE DO NOT WISH TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO TERRORISTS" - MR. YITZHAK RABIN, EVEN PALESTINIANS SAY, IS OPEN WITH AN OPEN MAND AND READY FOR DISCUSSION.

MOREOVER, THE ATTACHED PHOTOCOPIES OF THE LETTER ADDRESSED TO ME FROM MR. YASSER ARAFAT AND OF THE REMARKS MADE BY THE CHIEF OF THE PLO DELEGATION TO THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF MY POLITICAL PARTY PROVES

THAT THE PLO HAS CONFIDENCE IN MY GOVERNMENT AND IN THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF SENEGAL, WHILE IT KNOWS VERY WELL OUI
THESISGC VTNFEDERATION FOLLOWED BY FEDERATION.

MISTER PRESIDENT, ACTUALLY I AM WRITING YOU BECAUSE
THE REESTABLISHMENT OF A DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST DEPENDS ESSENTIALLY ON THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICAN AND THE USSR. ACCORDING TO MY INFORMATION, THE
ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE READY FOR
TALKS. AGAIN IT IS NECESSARY FOR MR. BREZHNEV, AND
ESPECIALLY FOR YOU, TO BRING ON THEM SUFFICIENTLY STRONG
PRESSURE. TO SUMMARIZE, PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST RESTS
IN YOUR HANDS.

AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, I AM READY TO FLY DIRECTLY
TO WASHINGTON, EACH AND ANY TIME YOU WISH. YOU HAVE
ONLY TO GIVE ME ABOUT TEN DAYS ADVANCE NOTICE.

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I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW TO YOU,
TO MRS. CARTER AND YOUR FAMILY, AND ALSO TO THE GREAT
AMERICAN PEOPLE, BEST WISHES FOR A GOOD AND HAPPY NEW
YEAR.

PLEASE ACCEPT MR.PRESIDENT THE ASSURANCES OF MY
HIGHEST CONSIDERATION. LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR. END QUOTE.

2. LETTER ATTACHED FOLLOWING REMARKS MADE BY DR. ISSAM
ALY SANTAWI, CHAIRMAN OF PLO DELEGATION TO EXTRAORDINARY
CONGRESS OF SENEGALESE SOCIALIST PARTY DECEMBER 27-29,
1976(EMBASSY COMMENTS ON CONGRESS BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL):

BEGIN QUOTE: COMRADE, SECRETARY GENERAL OF
THE UPS; COMRADES, MEMBERS OF THE UPS POLITICAL BUREAU;
COMRADES, CONGRESS PARTICIPANTS:

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAS THE HONOR TO
SALUTE THE UPS ON THE OCCASION OF THE EXTRAORDINARY
CONGRESS WHICH HAS AS ITS GOAL THE OFFICIAL INSTITUTION OF
A SOCIALIST POLICY FOR THE PARTY AND THE FRATERNAL PEOPLE
OF SENEGAL. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THIS CONGRESS
IS A VERY IMPORTANT STEP ON THE ROAD OF PROGRESS TOWARD
THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STABLE AND PROPEROUS SOCIETY
WHERE THE SENEGALESE WILL FIND SOCIAL JUSTICE AND
EQUALITY.

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS ITS TIES
OF FRIENDSHIP AND FRATERNITY WITH THE UPS, NOTES THE
ENDURING POSITION OF THE UPS ON FAVOR OF ITS STRUGGLE TO

RECOVER ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS IN ALL SPHERES. IT NOTES
AS WELL THE LASTING POSITION OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF
THE UPS, MR. LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR, WHO HAS NEVER
SPARED ANY EFFORT TOWARD THE INSTALLATION OF A PALESTINIAN
STATE ON ITS USURPED LAND.

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THE FRANTERNAL RELATION WHICH EXIST BETWEEN THE UPS AND
THE PLO ARE SUCH THAT ANY VICTORY OF THE UPS IS CONSIDERED
BY THE PLO AS ITS OWN VICTORY. IT IS PRECISELY FOR THAT
REASON THAT THE PLO CONSIDERS THAT THIS EXTRAORDINARY
CONGRESS WILL BE A TOTAL SUCCESS FOR THE UPS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION
OF A STABLE,EQUITABLE AND PROSPEROUS
SOCIETY UNDER DEMOCRACY.

NOTE BY OC/T: TEXT AS RECEIVED.

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 08481 02 OF 02 311307Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 8481

EXDIS

S/S FOR CARTER LIAISON

THAT STRUGGLE, WHICH IS A TEST FOR THE STATES OF THE
THIRD WORLD AND THOSE OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED LANDS,
WILL BE AN EXAMPLE TO IMITATE.

MOREOVER, THE PLO SALUTES THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS
OF THE UPS AND WISHES IT SUCCESS IN REALIZING ITS NOBLE
GOALS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE EMINENT GUIDE AND

FATHER OF THE SENEGALESE NATION, LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR.
END QUOTE.

3. LETTER ALSO ATTACHED FOLLOWING MESSAGE IN ENGLISH
DATED BEIRUT, DECEMBER 2, 1976, TO "BROTHER PRESIDENT
SENGHOR" FROM PALESTINIAN LEADER YASSIR ARAFAT:

BEING QOTE: THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR LETTER WHICH
WAS DELIVERED TO ME THREE DAYS AGO IN TRIPOLI, LIBYA, BY
ABU KHALIL. I HIGHLY APPRECIATE YOUR RECENT EFFORTS
AND BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE HISTORICALLY IMPORTANT,
ESPECIALLY AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN MIDDLE EASTERN
AND WORLD HISTORY. I GRANT YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT PEACE
MAKING EFFORTS CAN BECOME HIGHLY FRUSTRATING WHEN MET
BY INDIFFERENCE FROM THE OTHER PARTNERS IN THE CONFLICT,
YET IT IS MY BELIEF THAT PEACE ACTIVISTS SHOULD CONTINUE
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IN THEIR NOBLE ENDEAVORS REGARDLESS OF THE FRUSTRATION
OF INDIFFERENT SIDES.

DR. ISAM SARTAWI, MY PERSONAL ENVOY TO YOUR EXCELLENCY
AND THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PLO TO THE EXTRA-
ORDINARY CONFERENCE OF UPS, WILL ACQUAINT
YOUR EXCELLENCY WITH ALL RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
PALESTINIAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN FIELDS AND WITH OUR
THOUGHTS ON THE POSSIBLE PLANS OF ACTION WHICH WE MIGHT
PURSUE TOGETHER TO FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND THE
FULFILLMENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS.

ONCE AGAIN IT PLEASES ME TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY
MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR YOUR NOBLE EFFORTS TO FURTHER
THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND TO HELP OUR SUFFERING PEOPLE.
IT ALSO PLEASES ME TO ASSURE YOUR EXCELLENCY OF MY DEEP
FAITH IN YOUR SAGACIOUS PERSONAGE AS WELL AS MY SUPPORT
FOR THE WISE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE YOU ARE PLAYING IN
THE MIDDLE EASTERN CONFLICT.

IN CONCLUSION, PLEASE ACCEPT, DEAR BROTHER, THE
ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST ESTEEM AND RESPECT. END QUOTE.
AGGREY

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